DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 113 506 CE 005 026

TITLE	Permanent Education, A Framework for Recurrent Education: Theory and Practice.
INSTITUTION	Council of Europe, Strasbourg (France).
PUB DATE	75
NOTE	32p.
EDRS PRICE	MF-$0.76 HC-$1.95 Plus Postage
DESCRIPTORS	*Adult Education; Articulation (Program); *Continuous Learning; *Educational Experiments; Foreign Countries; Political Influences; Social Factors
IDENTIFIERS	Council of Europe; *Recurrent Education

ABSTRACT

The report provides an account of the work accomplished and the publications produced by the Council of Europe since 1967 concerning permanent education. Part 1 examines the historical perspective of permanent education, its development within the Council of Europe, and the implications of the principle of recurrence for other stages of the education system. Part 2 summarizes and assesses the 16 experiments which were conducted by the Council for Cultural Cooperation of the Council of Europe in various member countries as concrete examples of the principles of permanent education. Three key problems have emerged as themes in the council's analysis of the experimental projects: the problem of integrating mutually influencing but separate levels of education as well as educational activities with other aspects of human life, the potential conflict between individual development and social constraints, and the political problem of not being able to alter the educational system without modifying sociopolitical structures. Part 3 is directed toward the development of recurrent education as a new approach to adult education. Issues examined include individual needs, structural changes, course content, teaching/learning methods, unit/credit system, and costs. (EA)

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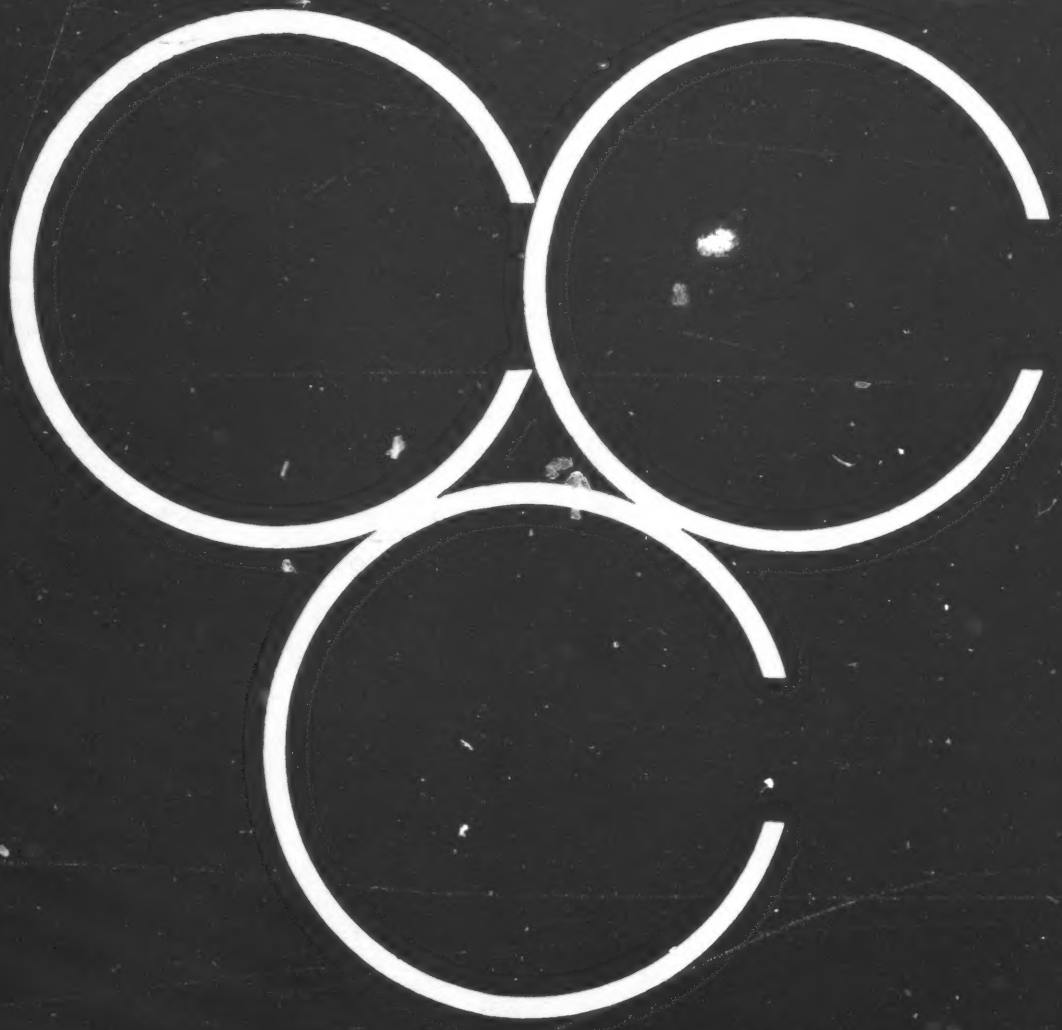

Permanent education - a framework for recurrent education

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This publication is the contribution of the Secretariat of the Council of Europe towards the preparation of the discussions of the 9th Session of the Standing Conference of the European Ministers of Education (Stockholm, June 1975).

It is an account of the work accomplished and the publications produced by the Council of Europe since 1967 concerning Permanent Education. The detailed reports are available from the Secretariat. The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development has prepared, for this same Conference, a report entitled : Recurrent Education : Trends and Issues.

PART I

INTRODUCTION

A. Education: the historical perspective

B. The history of the Council of Europe concept

C. The principle of recurrence in the Council of Europe concept and its implications

A. Education: the historical perspective

The concept of "permanent education", which began to be formulated and to find adherents in European circles in the 1960s, attempts to offer a solution to the problem of how to adapt educational systems to present needs - both the economic and social needs of society, and the personal needs of the individual. Such an adaptation, if effected rapidly enough, would forestall potentially dangerous conflicts in society.

The foundations of education systems in Europe were laid in the 18th and 19th centuries (though often they reflected the moral, social and cultural preoccupations of still earlier times). Adaptation of these systems to the vastly different conditions and concern of the late 20th century is inevitably proving to be gradual and difficult; the chances of a successful outcome will however be increased greatly if the reforms to this end undertaken by governments follow an agreed unifying concept in which, for instance, education is seen as an integral part of the socio-economic and socio-cultural macrocosm. Permanent education provides such a concept. Recurrent education is seen as a strategy permitting its realisation.

Nineteenth century educational systems were essentially elitist - though the need was recognised, in varying degrees, to provide at least minimal instruction for persons engaged in manual work, for reasons both of social justice and of economic efficiency. The introduction of compulsory primary education for all, and the expansion of secondary, technical and higher education in the late 19th century and the first half of the 20th constitute partly successful attempts to increase equality of opportunity and to modify earlier forms and structures, under the pressure of urban expansion, increased social mobility and the necessity for greater professionalism at all levels imposed by technological development. After 1950 there was a spectacular growth of educational provision, which now represents the largest item in some national budgets.

But, from the point of view of both society and the citizen, many problems remain. In the first place it is hardly likely that the trend towards offering increased educational provision can continue, at least if it consists essentially - as has often been the case - of offering "more of the same" (more schools, teachers, universities ...). Secondly, the remedial effects of education in lessening inequalities have on the whole been much less than was hoped. Inequalities not remedied at the outset, ie at pre-primary and primary level, at present often determine the whole course of a child's education and subsequent career. So long as education remains a largely once-for-all process, young people who, for whatever reason, have not been able to continue beyond the primary or secondary level, meet great difficulties if they attempt to resume the process of learning in later life. Even those who have followed higher education may find that the curricula they studied have little relevance to their preoccupations and problems in "real life"; in particular those who have chosen the more vocationally oriented subjects risk seeing their knowledge and methodology rapidly outdated.

It is these considerations that have led to the fundamental proposition that what is now required is a flexible system of education which is no longer centred overwhelmingly on formal schooling in childhood and adolescence but, on the contrary, extends throughout life, from early childhood to old age. This concept has come to be known as that of "permanent education".

We shall now briefly trace its development within the Council of Europe.

B. The history of the Council of Europe concept

In 1965, at a meeting of the Council of Europe's Committee for Out-of-School Education, the suggestion was put forward that permanent education should be the theme for a future general debate in the Council for Cultural Co-operation (CCC). This suggestion was adopted, and in 1966 the CCC held its first policy debate on this subject. As a result of this debate a working party was set up to consider problems in permanent education, and a series of studies was commissioned from European experts. By 1970 fifteen studies had been prepared, and in that year a meeting of the CCC's Co-ordinating Group on Permanent Education, which included the authors of the studies and the chairmen of the CCC's three permanent committees, decided to publish a compendium of the studies, to be followed by a synopsis. It was further decided to draw up a "development pattern", which was to serve as the basis for evaluating "pilot experiments" in permanent education carried out in member countries.

1971 saw many important developments in the Council of Europe's permanent education programme. The Compendium was published, followed later by the Synopsis, and a series of meetings was held to discuss and revise the "development pattern" and to prepare a draft scheme for the evaluation of pilot experiments. The "development pattern", now renamed "Fundamentals for an integrated educational policy", was eventually adopted by the Council for Cultural Co-operation as an official policy document, on the recommendation of a joint meeting of the CCC's three permanent committees. The publication of the "Fundamentals for an integrated educational policy" marked the end of the first, or conceptualising stage, of the Council's permanent education programme, and the beginning of the second, or operational stage.

In March 1972, the Council for Cultural Co-operation set up a "Steering Group on Permanent Education" for the purpose of evaluating pilot experiments. The CCC's three permanent committees, at their joint meeting in September 1971 which recommended the adoption of the "Fundamentals", had also put forward suggested criteria for the selection of pilot experiments. The Steering Group, at its first meeting in July 1972 selected, on the basis of these criteria, the first six pilot experiments from 12 proposals submitted by member countries. Visits to the six experiments were subsequently made by members of the Steering Group, who carried out on-the-spot evaluations on the basis of the policy set out in the "Fundamentals" and prepared technical dossiers.

The Project Director (Mr Bertrand Schwartz) now drew up the first Consolidated Report on the evaluation of the pilot experiments, which was presented to the Steering Group at its second meeting in September 1973. The report included an Analysis Guide for pilot experiments which was to replace the earlier selection criteria. On the basis of this Guide the Group selected a further ten experiments from thirty proposals submitted, which were to constitute the second phase of the operational stage of the permanent education programme. It was also agreed to review at a later date the "Fundamentals for an integrated educational policy" in the light of the conclusions drawn from the evaluation of pilot experiments. At its meeting in July 1974, the Steering Group selected another five experiments which are to be examined during the third phase of visits.

It is perhaps useful to underline the originality of the approach adopted by the Steering Group. The study and evaluation of national innovations, taking place as it does within the framework of a common philosophy, is not only valuable in itself, but also makes possible a "double feedback"; the concept of permanent education, and the ways of implementing such a concept - particular importance being attached to those involving the principle of recurrence - can be further clarified and refined in the light of information derived from the experiments; the amended concept will, in turn, give rise to modified criteria on which to base future experiments. This dialectical process of confronting the concept with realities is thus designed to be continuous and self-enriching, leading both towards increasing coherence within and between systems and also towards European harmonisation - if and when it can be generalised to become a co-operative venture on a large scale.

C. <u>The principle of recurrence in the Council of Europe concept and its implications</u>

The Steering Group is aware that a fundamental element in the implementation of the concept of permanent education is the principle of recurrence, that is to say, "a flexible system of alternation between work and study" ("Fundamentals for an Integrated Educational Policy", page 50). Thus recurrence may be seen as a strategy for all education beyond the basic or compulsory stage. How should this strategy operate? What bearing would it have on earlier stages of the education system? What changes would it imply in terms of structures, content and methods and of the attitude and role of teachers and learners? How would it be financed? These are some of the questions which need to be answered.

The Council for Cultural Co-operation's Synopsis, entitled "Permanent Education: the Basis and Essentials" says of recurrent education (page 40): "The sandwich procedure, composed of alternate layers of gainful occupation and education, should become a dominant feature of post-school provision". But what should be the relation of these "alternate layers of gainful occupation and education" to other stages of the education system?

If such a system of recurrent education is merely superimposed upon existing primary, secondary and tertiary structures the result will be both unsatisfactory and expensive. The Council of Europe has felt the need to stress that an educational system embodying the concepts of permanent education cannot hope to be ultimately successful unless it evolves as an integrated whole, with each part, compulsory and non-compulsory, designed in relation to the other. Such integration might help to avert certain potential dangers. One such danger is that recurrent education, if merely an addendum to existing structures, might perpetuate and even accentuate present inequalities in education. If there is no modification of the earlier stages of education, increased provisions for adults might tend merely to benefit those social groups most aware of the importance of education and most able to take advantage of it under the present system. The generalised introduction of pre-school education might help to solve this problem; so might the integration of the later stages of "formal" education with post-work (recurrent) education.

Certainly the concept has consequences for upper secondary and for tertiary education, the duration of which there has been a tendency to lengthen. Longer studies are costly; furthermore, by postponing the entry of young people into active working life, they widen the gulf between those who prolong their education and those who leave school early. There appears now to be a growing consensus that young persons should be enabled and encouraged to assume professional responsibility as early as possible. The corollary is however that, after a period of work, they must have real opportunities to acquire further training and education.

Upper secondary education would thus come to be regarded, in a sense, as the first stage of recurrent education and subsequent studies would be undertaken intermittently during working life instead of continuously under a tertiary system purporting to enable students to "complete" their education. This merging of upper secondary and tertiary education into a recurrent education system, in addition to implementing a view of education that is heuristic and continuous instead of prescriptive and finite, may be expected to bring benefits in the field of social communication. Since many more young people would combine working life and study at an early stage, the social gulfs which present education systems seem unable to eradicate should be narrowed, and common terms of reference should begin to appear.

Another important factor is that recurrent education, with its constant interplay between learning and occupational activities, would have a profound influence on irrelevant elements at all levels of the education system. In the past, a preconceived image of the world and man was translated (and was easily translatable) into <u>set</u> curricula covering an encyclopedic range of subjects. There are two reasons why this is unlikely to happen in the future. The encyclopedia has become unmanageable and questionable; and the trends are towards both equality and personal fulfilment within a democratic society, away from an elitist society. In many of the new problem centred learning situations that are emerging in the context of recurrent education the "academic" type of learning is neither possible nor wanted, thus the set curricula and traditional subject gradation lose some of their relevance, and a new concept of "knowledge" seems to evolve.

The greater motivation likely to result from a more relevant education has another dimension. The "dehierarchisation" of the curriculum would remove another contributory cause of non-motivation in the young learner (it is a basic aim of permanent education to promote the individual's will and capacity to learn so that he may continue to develop his psychological and social potential). At present, much early education is competitive, with the ability to pass an examination at a given moment in a subject area carrying particular status classed as "success". Such a system may have undesirable psychological effects. Many people, following "failure" at school, think of themselves as unfit for any further education, or, at best, as capable of pursuing only narrow vocational training classified as inferior in the educational hierarchy. In order that young people should both desire and be able to continue their education, the somewhat artificial distinction between vocational and non-vocational education should be reduced, and the set curricula of secondary education abandoned in favour of a flexible cross-disciplinary system offering a maximum of individual choices to correspond to different aptitudes. The student's progress would be measured by means of continuous assessment, including an element of joint evaluation by teacher and learner. This emphasis on <u>participation</u>, both in the choice of courses and through self-evaluation, should help to bring about a change of attitude in those pupils less "successful" under existing educational structures, who at present often have a hostile attitude to the learning situation and regard education as something imposed by others, to be "undergone".

Of paramount importance in bringing about the necessary changes in the compulsory stages of education, and in thus making the successful implementation of recurrent education possible, is the role and attitude of teachers. Schools should not be "little islands with their own way of life", largely isolated from the outside world. In the past teachers found their job satisfaction in preparing children within an almost hermetic situation for their entry into adult life: the teacher's own work situation, unlike that of other professions, provided little contact with the "real world", and little incentive to bridge the gap between the two worlds. Such isolation is neither inevitable nor desirable; and it is one of the main reasons for the accusations of "irrelevance" levelled against the instruction dispensed by schools.

The integration of the present compulsory schooling period with recurrent education, within the overall framework of a system of permanent education, will have beneficial effects upon the school and provide new opportunities for the teacher. The school might well become a base for integrated community facilities in the future patterns of urban and rural development.

Schools transformed in this way would provide the basis for a smooth transition into a recurrent education system including community service programmes as a mixed learning/work experience.

Large numbers of part-time, non-professional (though not untrained) teachers and "animators" will be required. Co-operation between the professional teacher and these part-time agents will facilitate the necessary integration between school and out-of-school education.

To attain its objectives all education, whether prior to or intermittent with active working life, must be viewed as one integrated, logical whole. As a necessary consequence of this view (and also as a means of implementing it), the concepts and methodology of recurrent education must be applied also to earlier stages of the education system.

PART II

PILOT EXPERIMENTS IN PERMANENT EDUCATION

(Progress report, August 1974)

A. The Council for Cultural Co-operation's Intensive Project in Permanent Education: its nature, aims, methods. The Analysis Guide - the sixteen experiments visited during the 1st and 2nd phases - outline plans for completion of programme.

B. Assessment of the experiments studied, grouped according to level: pre-school, primary and lower/upper secondary, adult (including university) education.

C. Conclusion: key problems for consideration.

A. The project

The Council for Cultural Co-operation of the Council of Europe adopted the theme of permanent education as the first of a series of Intensive Projects in the educational and cultural field. It will be recalled that the "executive body" of the Project is the Steering Group on Permanent Education, set up by the Council for Cultural Co-operation in March 1972, which is composed of experts from member countries of the Council of Europe, headed by a Project Director. The Steering Group has as its mandate:

- to select for study (from proposals submitted by member governments) experiments in education at all levels being carried out in member countries, which appear to be attempting to implement concepts similar to those evolved during the "conceptualising phase" of the CCC's study of permanent education, as set out in particular in the "Fundamentals for an integrated educational policy". The selection of experiments was to be made on the basis of preliminary "Criteria" drawn up for this purpose. These criteria were then developed gradually into an enlarged set of principles contained in an "Analysis Guide";

- to visit the selected experiments "in situ", and to report the impressions gained from these visits, using for that purpose the "Criteria", or, later, the "Analysis Guide". A consolidated report by the Project Director was to be produced on each series of visits.

The purpose of these visits and their evaluation is twofold:

- to discover how far and in what way each experiment could be said to represent a step towards the realisation of an overall system of permanent education;

- to refine and improve, in the light of concrete observations made during the visits, the analytical principles used in selecting and evaluating the experiments, that is to say in particular the "Analysis Guide".

Since the "Analysis Guide" has become the cornerstone of the analytical activity of the Steering Group, it is perhaps useful to give here a brief indication of its nature. The 1973 guide enunciated a set of policy principles which would need to be implemented if the aims of permanent education are to be achieved. The experiments visited are examined in relation to these policy principles to discover, for example, whether similar principles are being implemented; if so, what positive results appear to be achieved; what obstacles there may be to implementing some of the principles; what practical problems their implementation raises, etcetera. On the basis of the experience gained from the first and second phases of visits, the Project Director has recently prepared a more highly elaborated version of the "Analysis Guide" (July 1974) which will be used in future stages of the Steering Group's activities.

The first and second phases of visits to experiments have now been concluded, with a total of 16 experiments studied: 6 during the first phase (Consolidated Report, September 1973) and 10 during the second phase (Consolidated Report, July 1974). The two Consolidated Reports have analysed the pilot experiments in the light of the Analysis Guide, the first grouping them simply for this purpose into two levels - namely, experiments concerned with young pupils and those concerned with adults, - the second presenting a fourfold grouping of pre-school, primary/lower secondary, upper secondary, and adult education. The 1974 Consolidated Report considers all 16 experiments, while, however, occasionally referring the reader to the earlier Report for details of experiments studied during the first phase. The grouping into levels is the subject of a word of explanation, indeed, of half-apology, by the Project Director (Consolidated Report 1974), for the aim of permanent education is to promote an integrated system where the rigid boundaries between different "levels" will be to some extent effaced. It is explained, however, that this conventional presentation has been adopted for two reasons: first for its practical convenience as a working tool for the Steering Group, and secondly, because the concept of permanent education has not yet sufficiently evolved to permit at present a satisfactory alternative grouping. With these comments in mind, the grouping into levels will be retained in the assessment of the experiments that follows. Before considering this, it will

perhaps be useful to indicate here very briefly plans for the continuation of the permanent education Project. Five experiments have already been selected for study during 1974-75, with a third Report to appear in the summer of 1975. Four more phases of study are planned in all (including phase 3, 1974-75, already mentioned). The concluding report and discussions by the Steering Group are thus planned for autumn 1978.

B. The experiments studied

In the following account of the sixteen experiments studied, no attempt will be made to describe each experiment in detail. Rather, attention will be focussed on the aims and achievements of the experiments, showing to what extent these have provided concrete illustration of the principles of permanent education as defined by the Council for Cultural Co-operation's Project and resumed in the Analysis Guide. The Guide itself, it will be remembered, is to some extent a summary of the "Fundamentals for an integrated educational policy", which the 1974 Consolidated Report refers to as the "ensemble idéal" against which the experiments have been studied. Since each experiment is considered to represent a tentative move in the direction of realising this ideal, the Report stresses the importance of indicating not only the strengths but also, and in particular, the weaknesses that seem likely to hamper the progress of an experiment towards its objective.

1. Pre-school education: Nursery schools

Experiments studied: a. Malmö, Sweden

b. Paris region and Grenoble (Villeneuve) France

The importance of pre-school (in the sense of pre-compulsory school) education is now widely recognised in Europe. In Western European countries, compulsory schooling begins between the ages of 5 and 7 years. Many of these countries, however, also seek to make available to very young children below school age some form of non-compulsory education. A fundamental aim of such education, made explicit in every case, is to attempt to counteract from the earliest possible age natural and socio-cultural inequalities, by providing the same educational opportunities for all children from the very beginning, and by taking early remedial and support action in the case of those presenting an actual or potential handicap. It is argued that, since the basis of the adult personality is laid in very early childhood, before the compulsory school age, an attempt must be made to aid its positive development.

The basic aims of pre-school education as exemplified in the Swedish and French experiments studied, may thus be stated briefly as follows:

- to develop the psychological independence of the child;
- to promote equality of opportunity;
- to create links between pre-school and primary education (thus mitigating the difficulties that many children experience in adapting to the first years of compulsory schooling).

It will be seen that the two major dimensions of education, as set out in the Analysis Guide, the psychological and the social, are clearly and consciously reflected in this earliest stage of the educational process. We shall first examine the steps taken to achieve the aims defined above, and then consider the obstacles to their achievement.

In attempting to develop the psychological independence of the child, the nursery schools are seeking, in the words of the report on the French experiments, to "lay the foundations in the earliest possible years for personalities which are out-going, expressive, creative, confident and compassionate". The aim is to present to the children a wide range of activities adapted to their particular motivations, and to allow them as much freedom as possible in carrying out and choosing between these activities, so that the child's experiences are individual "adventures", guided and studied by the teachers. An attempt is made to avoid imposing any rigid programme or prematurely trying to "instill knowledge". The accent

is thus on action and creativity, with the exploration of the environment playing an important role. The activities are selected to promote the child's development in various spheres. Successful social contact with the other children, for instance, through collective games and projects carried out in groups, favour his socio-emotive development. Deliberate activities with a given end in mind help his sensory-motor development. The pace of development is geared to the individual child; when a child is ready to move on to new, more challenging activities, the teacher will present new possibilities to him. The whole approach is thus aimed at developing the child's autonomy, with the process of learning having obvious priority over content. The report on the French experiments noted that, while there was no observable pressure on the children to learn to read, write, calculate or acquire subject knowledge, "as a result of their play and free experience, with the careful influence of the teachers, most of them have mastered the rudiments of numeracy and literacy by the time they are 6".

The Steering Group have found that certain difficulties are at present hampering the attempts of the nursery schools studied to further the children's development as described above. To begin with, there were often too many children in a class (in France, in 1971, nearly 18% of classes numbered more than 45 children), thus preventing the teachers from according the essential individual attention to each child. In some schools, there were not enough non-teaching aides to help with routine tasks; the teachers were thus not sufficiently free to carry out their primary role of observing and guiding the children in their creative activities. The amount of money made available by municip.lities in France for nursery schools varies from place to place, and in some cases schools show a relative lack of equipment, which inevitably limits the range of activities available to the children. Again, the architecture of the schools and the media in use are not always ideally adapted to the needs they serve. The Group wished also to draw attention to the danger of a tendency to create an artificial environment adapted to the child, by over-protecting him and reducing everything to his scale, thus running counter to the intention of aiding the child to explore the real world. This tendency was observed in both France and Sweden, though in Grenoble, where it was recognised, a conscious attempt was being made to counteract it. This artificiality is reinforced in both countries by the absence of male teachers at nursery level; the child at nursery school lives in an all-female world. There is one exception: there is one male teacher at the "Buttes"infant school in Grenoble. For the moment, however, this remains an isolated case.

The second cardinal aim of the nursery schools, that of promoting equality of educational opportunity, may perhaps be taken together with the third expressed aim, that of creating links between pre-school and primary education, because of the obvious connection between the two. The nursery schools seek first to promote equality by making available "a positively educational and cultural experience" to all very young children. In both France and Sweden, there is in addition, provision for guidance and compensatory education for those children showing early handicaps. In Sweden, a study is made of the "social handicap" phenomenon, and of means of remedying it in the nursery school environment. In France, a "groupe d'aide psycho-pédagogique", including a psychologist and remedial experts, is available to nursery schools. It is obvious however, that the attempt to palliate early handicaps, whether social or natural, will be much less effective if no continuity is observed between the initial educational experience and the subsequent stages of the education system. At present, in both France and Sweden, the psychological environment and the aims and methods of primary education often differ strongly from those of the nursery schools as just described. The marked difference in atmosphere between the two types of school reflects different conceptions on the part of teachers of their role and aims. Many primary and secondary schools are also still characterised by the hierarchisation of knowledge, the classification of aptitudes and the low priority accorded to concrete experience and spontaneity of expression. This abrupt change presents problems to many children. We see here the importance of a basic principle of permanent education, namely the insistence on a coherent continuous system. As regards the transition from nursery to primary school, in both French and Swedish experiments studied, practical steps are being taken. In Sweden, there are plans for teachers at primary and nursery level to receive a comparable training at the same type of training establishment. In France, this situation already exists, since nursery school teachers receive the same training (that of "institutrice") as primary school teachers. (The 1974 Consolidated Report points out, however, that it is sometimes argued that this level of training is not necessary for nursery school staff, and that there is a danger that their status and training requirements might be reduced. The Report constantly stresses that the nursery school has clear educational aims which require its eventual integration into the education system.) In the Swedish schools visited, a serious attempt is made to integrate the last

year of nursery school with the first year of primary school (the latter begins in Sweden at 7 years). A common programme of activities (in the form of a "catalogue of educational situations") has been drawn up for 6 and 7 year old children. In the Malmö region, 6 year old children spend half-days in primary schools, while some primary school children return for re-education activities to the nursery schools. In the Grenoble experiment in France, the primary schools apply the methods used in the nursery schools as described above, with the development of autonomy still a principal aim. Architecturally, the two types of school are not separated here; in addition, the teacher of the last year of nursery school (5 years old in France) accompanies the group into the primary school for the first two years, thus ensuring the maximum possible continuity.

Another factor in promoting equality of opportunity is the information, or, in a sense, the education of parents. Attempts are being made to establish the necessary continuity between the home and school environment by associating parents with the work of the school. In France, parents have free access to nursery schools; in Grenoble, courses are arranged to train mothers as non-teaching assistants. The Steering Group noted a difficulty here, in that the parents most disposed to participate in the schools' activities were those who were already the most conscious of the educational aims (in the wide sense) of the nursery school, namely parents from the more favoured socio-economic backgrounds.

The Steering Group noted a final obstacle to the achievement of the promotion of equality opportunity: the fact that, in both France and Sweden, pre-school education is not yet universally available or universally frequented. This factor "per se" is obviously responsible for furthering inequalities. In both countries, attempts are being made to increase the number of nursery school places available.

2. Primary and lower/upper secondary education

Experiments studied:

Primary school: Oxfordshire, United Kingdom

Primary and lower secondary level: Grenoble (Villeneuve) France

Lower secondary level: Geneva, Switzerland

(Parents' school)

Upper secondary level: a. Norway (national reform);

b. North Rhine-Westphalia, German Federal Republic

Primary and lower/upper secondary levels: United Kingdom (Schools Council).

The experiments studied at these levels cover a wide range, but are to some extent linked by a similarity of aim and the influence (sometimes negative) of one level upon another. With regard to the two experiments studied at primary and lower secondary level (Oxfordshire, United Kingdom and Grenoble, France), the Grenoble experiment held particular interest since the nursery schools were also studied there, and it was thus able to provide a concrete example of continuity from nursery to lower secondary level. At Grenoble, both primary schools (6-11 years old) and CES (Collèges d' Enseignement Secondaire, 12-16 years old) were studied; in Oxfordshire, the Steering Group visited "Open area schools" grouping children at primary (5-9 years) and middle school (10-13 years) level.

The explicit aims of the Villeneuve schools and the Open Area Schools are the same: namely, the furtherance of the full development of the child, in terms of his self-realisation, independence and socialisation, and the promotion of equality of educational opportunity. To achieve these ends, the methods of the nursery schools as described above have to some extent been applied at primary and lower secondary level, though, of course, with differences that reflect the different requirements of older children. There is the same concern for individualised learning, with the child following his own rhythm and choosing his own methods and resources. In practical terms, the first step to achieving this was the breaking-open of the traditional class, defined as a group of children of the same age covering the same programme during the same period, for such a class does not permit the individualisation just referred to. Once the class no longer

exists, there is no further justification for "streaming". Fixed timetables and programmes can be abandoned, to be replaced by a series of concrete tasks, in which children of different aptitudes and ages can participate, and where individual progress can be measured. Children work at these tasks in small groups (or sometimes on their own). In the United Kingdom experiment, positive use was made of age differences by a system of "vertical grouping". In this way, the more advanced children are able to help the others; but tasks are divided between individuals so that the teachers can stimulate the most gifted and at the same time help the slower pupils. At Grenoble, the "years" are replaced by 3-year cycles (the first, as we have seen, including the last year of nursery school). In this way, the child is more easily able to follow his own rhythm of development. In both the French and British schools, an attempt has also been made to break open the compartimentalised "discipline" by presenting to the children tasks or activities that are essentially cross-disciplinary, by "integrating" traditional areas of study; this has given rise to what is known in the United Kingdom as the "integrated day". A basic principle of these schools is that, amongst the tasks proposed to them, the children have to some extent a choice of activities. They are thus more highly "motivated" than children in schools where everything is imposed from outside, and should thus work more readily and learn more successfully. The claim of these schools is that the child in such a situation learns at least as much as the child in a traditional school, while at the same time developing his personality, creativeness and independence. At these, as at more traditional schools, the child must acquire certain basic skills: in the words of the 1974 Consolidated Report, "There are a certain number of skills that a child must acquire in order to become independent". Thus, the basic "languages", verbal and mathematical, have to be learned, but learned through their use in a wide multi-disciplinary context. On the question of choice of content, it was found, inevitably, that at Grenoble, for example, there was more freedom in the primary schools than at the CES, where the contents were to some extent imposed by the requirements of later stages of education. It was here that the problem of the mutual influence of various levels of education, and the need for integration into an overall system with a common philosophy, became once again apparent. At the Grenoble CES, though the contents of education were in part predetermined, pupils still had a certain freedom in choosing how (through which activities) and when they should be studied. The links between the primary schools and the CES at Grenoble functioned well, though the CES teachers, each formed in a separate discipline, had more difficulty in adapting to teamwork and a multi-disciplinary approach than the "instituteurs" of the primary schools, whose training was in itself pluri-disciplinary. The Steering Group noted in some cases a lack of co-operation between the CES and the "lycées", to which a number of pupils go on leaving the CES at 16. Similarly, in the United Kingdom, the primary and middle schools worked closely together on a common programme, but there seemed to be little contact between them and the upper secondary level.

The pedagogic methods at both the French and British schools were based on the goal-oriented approach. A series of tasks are given to the pupils who, with the guidance of the teachers, choose the means of carrying them out. The study of the environment is often a central theme. The Steering Group noted a successful project at a school in the United Kingdom, where children of 10-12 years of age, divided in groups of about 10 pupils, made a study of the environment divided into 10 "chapters", demonstrably interdependent though covering what are traditionally separate fields. The 1973 Consolidated Report notes "The environment is studied as an ecosystem within which man is an essential factor. The chapters cover the prehistorical, historical, geological and geographic aspects, the natural sciences (resources), the economy, town and country planning, communications etc ...". The Report points out that all the basic skills were used by pupils on this project: writing, reading, calculating, drawing, observing phenomena in context, using documentary material. Visits were made outside the school. The pupils were apparently so well motivated by this activity that they worked on it in their own time, at home and elsewhere.

The activities of pupils in these schools in both countries was subject to constant evaluation by the teachers and by the pupils themselves. One can speak, according to the Consolidated Report, in terms of an ideal of "assisted self-education". The Report noted a very important aspect of this: in the context of these schools, where all the children are not doing the same thing at the same time, it is easier for teachers to devote time to compensatory education for those pupils who need it, and much attention is paid to this in all the schools visited. The teachers work in teams, assuming the role of tutors rather than masters; their relationship with the pupils is thus modified, becoming easier and more informal. The Steering Group noted, particularly in France, certain problems of adaptation of teachers to their new role, due to a lack of training and support. The inadequate use made of modern media in both countries was due in part, the Group felt, to a reluctance on the part of teachers, who were unfamiliar with them as aids to independent work by pupils.

The multi-disciplinarity of the pupils' tasks as referred to earlier has had the effect of attenuating in these schools the traditional hierarchy of disciplines. In them, manual and artistic activities have an importance they are not generally accorded in traditional curricula. In the British primary schools their dominant role was particularly evident. If a central place in both countries was still accorded to certain disciplines, this was due to the influence of later educational requirements, themselves determined by society's scale of values. The problem of the relative neglect in the French CES of artistic activities was accentuated by the centralised allocation of staff, quite insufficient for the needs in this respect, which had to some extent been compensated in Grenoble by special arrangements that might be difficult to generalise elsewhere. Since artistic activity is important in the development of the creative capacities, the Steering Group felt that its comparative neglect was a serious omission.

A final important point was noted in connection with these schools in both France and the United Kingdom: the opening of the school both internally and onto the outside world. The Steering Group noted the importance of architecture in this connection. The Open Area Schools in Britain are so called because of their construction in "wings" built around an open space, to allow for group activities and free movement within the school. The same principle of free movement internally is present at Grenoble, where the whole Villeneuve complex is designed in this manner. Equally important, the schools are open to the outside world. In Grenoble, many of the buildings and facilities are available to the adult community, and the workshops or laboratories, for instance, may be used simultaneously by children and their parents. There is thus a degree of interchange between school and daily life outside school, with some activities taking place outside school walls. In this way, the notion of school as a separate, artificial world is gradually being effaced. The participation of parents is actively sought in both countries; in some cases (as we have already seen with regard to the nursery schools) they act as auxiliaries to the teachers, bringing with them their own professional experience. This participation can sometimes, however, be a constraint to innovation, because the parents bring with them memories of an earlier education system, and often reflect the ideology and the social system within which they live, and thus are resistant to change.

Another experiment studied by the Steering Group concerns directly parent participation in the process of educational change: this is the Parents' School in Geneva, Switzerland. This Parents' School is attached to a lower secondary school project introduced in 1962 in the canton of Geneva. The aim of the project, known as the "Cycle d'Orientation", is to provide an integrated school system, where counselling plays an important role, for children in the 12-15 age group. In 1966 parents of these children were invited to attend evening courses (generally on one day a week) in order to familiarise themselves with their children's work and with the methods used in the schools, to enable them to make contact with the teachers, and also to refresh or extend their knowledge. The parents use the same textbooks as their children and are taught by the same teachers. In connection with this experiment it was noted by the Steering Group that the parents (wanting to help their children) showed little sign of any independent initiative, and were more of a brake than a stimulant to any innovative activities, for the reasons mentioned above.

In the particular sphere of change constituted by curriculum reform, the Steering Group studied the work of the Schools Council in the United Kingdom. The Schools Council was founded in 1964, and has as its aim "to promote education by carrying out research into and keeping under review the curricula, teaching methods and examinations in schools". It is concerned with both the primary and lower/upper secondary levels of school education. The Council is an independent body financed equally by the Department of Education and Science and the local education authorities. The essential principle of the Council, and its originality, is that the teachers themselves should be the agents of educational innovation, and thus play a dominant role in curriculum development. Though members of the Council represent a wide range of educational and political interests, a majority of members, both of the Governing Council and all subordinate committees, are serving teachers. In certain of its projects, the Steering Group found that the Schools Council was also actively interested in new teaching methods, including the use of media, and in promoting the individualisation of learning. On the other hand, it noted that neither parents nor pupils were in any way involved in the Council's decisions.

The Steering Group studied two projects at the upper secondary level of education (16-19 years old), one in the Federal Republic of Germany (the "Kollegschule" project in North Rhine-Westphalia) and the other in Norway (a national reform of this level of education). The word "project" is here more correctly used than "experiment", since both projects when studied were still largely in the planning stage. (In Norway, one or two prototype schools were in existence, but the law generalising the experiment had not yet been passed.)

In most European countries, the period of compulsory schooling ends at age 16. After this, many young people (from 35 to 60% depending on the country) go straight into working life. The remainder continue with some form of education, but in general at this stage they must choose between two kinds: a vocational training that prepares them for some well-defined activity, or a continuation of their general education. This latter prepares them often for entrance to a university or some other form of tertiary education. Thus, at 16, an irreversible choice is often made, for the two types of education usually take place in distinct institutions, with no contact between the two branches. As the 1974 Consolidated Report points out, this separation reproduces more or less exactly a "socio-political cleavage". Many European countries are now seeking to remedy this divisive situation, and the German and Norwegian projects studied are examples of this attempt. The aim is to integrate the two separate systems into a single school, with the object of giving equal status to the two types of education and of delaying as long as possible a final orientation. Within this single school, pupils may follow (in differing degrees) courses hitherto reserved exclusively for the other branch. In the German project, this intention is particularly clear: pupils spend 25% of their time on a common core, a further 25% on free options, and the remaining 50% of study in depth of a multi-disciplinary area that corresponds to a "professional profile": that, for instance, of an electrician, a physicist or an historian.

The reform of basic structures is thus the prior aim of both the German and Norwegian projects; but the 1974 Consolidated Report points out that, to be effective, such a reform must go hand in hand with a reform of "operational methods". By this, it is meant that the education given must be conceived as learner-centred and based on individual motivation, which implies choice on the part of the pupils, guided by the teachers. The Report felt that some of the opposition to the reform manifested in Norway, for instance, was due to the fact that its opponents were thinking in terms of traditional teaching methods, which are difficult to apply to the mixing of pupils with different abilities and backgrounds that is central to the reform. This underlines once again the essential unity of permanent education principles; structural and pedagogic changes are inseparable, just as different stages of the education system cannot be considered in isolation. The Report noted that it was impossible to say at this early stage with regard to the two experiments studied if the clear intention to achieve structural change would succeed in inducing the necessary transformation of methods.

There was already evidence that attention was being paid to the fundamental aspect of choice and guidance, particularly in the case of the German project. 75% of the courses constituting the "Kollegschule" programme are left to the choice of the pupil (with varying degrees of restriction). The choice is made by what is described as a "negociation" between pupils and teachers, thus reinforcing the notion of the teacher as guide and the educational process as one of participation between pupils and teachers. The Report notes the danger that the teachers, in the advice they offer, and the pupils or their families, in their preferences, will be influenced by the current scale of values established by society. It remarks that "in our present-day societies, no educational institution can prevent certain options being considered as negative, since the individual's social and economic status is generally linked to his professional role". This problem is signalled again by the existence of "social advancement" courses for adults. As the Report indicates, within a fully realised permanent education system there should be no need for such courses.

Two important questions are raised again here that have already occurred in connection with the experiments discussed earlier: those of the link between one "level" of education and another, and between the educational institution in question and the "outside world". In neither the German nor the Norwegian project was there any indication that thought had been given to the relationship between the new upper secondary education being introduced, and the various forms of tertiary education, including their possible modification. On the relationship between the new single school and the non-school world, an important innovation was noted in Norway, where it was proposed that adults should be able to attend the school for professional reorientation or a return to general studies. The Consolidated Report points out, however,

that in order to make this a practical possibility a method of organisation and evaluation such as the unit/credit system would have to be introduced; the use of this system was indeed planned in the "Kollegschule" in Germany. The German project also included the use of the "sandwich principle" (as a first step towards recurrent education), where young people at work received their vocational training by spending one term a year over a three-year period in full-time study. The Report wonders however, whether this initiative does not stem rather from the impossibility of receiving all these pupils at schcol rather than from the desire to fuse into one the learning and working environments. It was noted that the German experiment was also very aware of the socialising role of education. The compulsory "common core" includes a course on politics and socio-economics, designed to make pupils conscious of their social environment and of their possibilities of influencing it. The use of group activities or shared tasks as a means of aiding pupils to assume their social role did not appear as a factor in either experiment.

Finally, the German project showed an important advance in the direction of goal-oriented learning. At the "Kollegschule", the pupil may, for instance, choose to acquire the techniques needed by an experimental scientist without limiting himself to one particular field of scientific enquiry. The required aptitudes and their application are the motive factor of the learning process. It is an important principle of permanent education that it is desirable to acquire capacities rather than to amass knowledge: that "mastery of the means of expression can be acquired independently of the matter expressed".

3. Adult education

Experiments studied:

Open University:	United Kingdom
Trade Union Education:	Belgium
Study Circles:	Sweden
Collective education, Merlebach Coal Basin:	France
Educational television for rural development:	France
Community development, Bari:	Italy
Cultural development, Jura:	Switzerland
Industrial democracy:	Norway
Folk High Schools:	Netherlands

The nine experiments studied by the Steering Group that relate to adult education have to be examined in a rather different light from those concerned with the education of young pupils. In the case of the young, the essential problem is the need to improve an existing system by making possible fuller personal development and ensuring greater equality of opportunity. In the case of adults, the question is one of creating a system where none exists: what kind of a system should we aim at, and how should it be integrated with earlier stages of education to provide one coherent whole? The experiments studied here have been considered principally in the light of what their place and contribution might be in some future structure of adult education. The elements constituted by the individual experiments have thus been set against the potential "whole" of the education of adults within a permanent education system.

The outline typology of adult education used in the 1974 Consolidated Report has been followed here. Using the variables of individual/collective education for individual/collective development, the Report distinguishes three broad groupings: individual education for individual development; individual education for individual and collective development; collective education for collective and individual development. Within the last group, different sub-categories are established. The Report emphasises that these groupings are provisional, but they are retained here for convenience of presentation.

Only one experiment is included within the first category (individual education for individual development), that of the Open University in the United Kingdom. The Open University began teaching in 1971. It aims to provide "for the adult population and with equality of opportunity in mind, the option of a university education equivalent in quality and in market value to other existing forms of university education". No formal qualifications are required for admission. Students mostly study at home in their spare time; in addition, there is a network of local study centres with tutors and counsellors available. Summer schools are also organised. Each course followed earns a credit; credits are accumulated towards a degree. In addition to the specialised courses (grouped within traditional faculties) there are two compulsory foundation courses which are multi-disciplinary. Teaching takes place by means of a multi-media system of correspondence texts, television and radio broadcasts, group and individual tuition and the residential summer course already mentioned.

Two major points retained the interest of the Steering Group with regard to this experiment: the first was the organisational aspect of the project, and the second, problems encountered in connection with its aim to promote equality of opportunity. The Group felt that the attempt to establish a multi-media system at this advanced level was a useful example in terms of their enquiry into permanent education. The need, if adult education is to be generalised, to overcome time and space constraints (cf Analysis Guide) had been fulfilled here by the use of the mass media and the recording of broadcasts made. The tutor/counselling system, indispensable in any form of education where independent study plays a major part, was well developed. Certain problems, however, were noted. The first concerned the question of how the evaluation criteria of the strictly formal academic world of the Open University might be modified to take account of knowledge gained by students from the world of work. This in turn raised the larger and fundamental question of what kind of role the university should play in a permanent education system: what kind of "higher education" should we seek to provide for adults? The 1974 Consolidated Report remarks: "The Open University represents a way of organising university education so as to make it more accessible to adults; it achieves this without calling into question university education as such". A further problem concerned the Open University's aim to promote equality of opportunity. In this connection, enrolment quotas were established in an attempt to ensure that places were kept available for certain less privileged social categories. The result was that the quotas fixed for these categories were barely filled, if at all. This illustrates the difficulty of remedying inequalities at so late a stage of the education system. The 1973 Consolidated Report concludes that it is essential to concentrate on organising equality of opportunity at pre-university level, and also that an attempt should be made to redefine the role of the university with adult students in mind.

Two experiments fall within the grouping "Individual education for individual and collective development". The first is a Belgian experiment concerned with trade union education. This experiment is interesting both for its aims and its techniques. It constitutes an attempt to promote individual development in the service of a collective project: that of enabling participants to become agents of social change. The courses, which are based largely on socio-economic and political themes, are in part subsidised by the Belgian Government. They are held on Saturdays, and are reinforced by small discussion groups which meet during the week in participants' homes. Besides the social and economic sciences, philosophy, law, mathematics and the natural sciences are among subjects taught. A course in "method and expression" is given during the first 3 years of the 4-year curriculum. The aim of the courses is to promote "active committment to social life" through "socio-cultural and socio-economic action".

Certain techniques used in this experiment reflected closely permanent education concepts. In an attempt to suppress the "dichotomy" between learning and active life, many seminars take as their starting point issues of daily life at home, work or in the community. In a further attempt at "deschooling", great stress is placed on self-management. Participants and animateurs decide between them on the curriculum and tutors for the coming year. Television is used as a motivation to study, and a large number of clubs have been established where students meet to view and discuss the programmes. Also important was the emphasis on self-expression and communication as a prime content of learning, and the methods of group dynamics are used to help participants acquire these techniques. The Steering Group was able to observe the success achieved in this field.

An interesting point noted by the Steering Group relates to motivation. It seems that the "refus ouvrier" (already referred to earlier in this paper) was overcome in this case by the propagandist element inherent in trade union philosophy, which provided the motivation for a return to the learning process. As the report justly points out, in terms of practical results and benefits, the value of learning often goes beyond its stated aims. In this respect a propagandist education may well be as useful as an "objective" (if it is objective, which is open to question) liberal education.

The second experiment within the grouping "Individual education for individual and collective development" concerns a Swedish project for adults with a limited educational background. This experiment has been established under the auspices of Fövux, a committee appointed in 1970 by the Swedish Government to consider "methods testing in adult education". Fövux has as its aim to find means of "eliminating obstacles which at present prevent adults with brief and inadequate former schooling from participating in adult education programmes". The experiment was in part an attempt to deal with the gap that exists between the well-educated young and the less well-educated middle-aged and older people. The students work in small groups of 5-20 members, led by an animateur. The subjects are fixed, and include Swedish, English, mathematics and civic education. Two principal problems (which are linked) are raised by this type of education: how (once again) to induce the prospective students to participate, and what material and financial conditions should govern the programme. The technique developed in Sweden for recruiting students from educationally non-motivated sectors of the population is known as "out-reaching". It is based on individual contact: the potential student will be contacted at work by a person from the same social environment (for instance a trade union official or foreman), who will inform him about the courses and try to persuade him to enroll. With regard to material conditions, three alternatives are available: some participants attend study circles in their free time; others are given leave by employers to attend in working hours; and in some cases participants receive a premium to encourage them to attend.

Considering the experiment in terms of permanent education principles, the 1974 Consolidated Report found that it was to some extent pedagogically conservative. The group technique worked well, and appeared to have resulted in increased self-confidence on the part of the participants; but it was noted that there was no possibility of choice of subjects for the students, no multi-disciplinarity, and no use of modern media. The Report suggested that a collective education approach involving the discussion of aims and common goal setting might be more successful in the given context, and stressed again that pedagogic methods and choice of subjects could not be dissociated from the aims of this type of programme. The groups should first decide for what kind of role in what society they were trying to equip themselves, and then determine the subject matter and methods best suited to achieving this end.

Six experiments are grouped in the last category "Collective education for collective and individual development". Concern for collective development seemed to be the major factor in most cases, but one experiment placed some emphasis on individual development. This was the Merlebach Coal Basin project in eastern France. The area is characterised by decreasing production. The population (bilingual in German and French but including also migrant workers with a variety of linguistic and cultural backgrounds) has a generally low educational level. The experiment, which involves about 4,000 people, is in the hands of a committee composed of elected representatives of the local community, representatives of workers' and employers' trade unions, and of the public authorities (Ministries of Education, Labour and Industry). The educational activities are organised by a body specialising in adult education, the "Association du Centre Universitaire de Coopération Economique et Sociale" (ACUCES) based at Nancy. Education at a relatively low level is offered, some courses leading to a diploma (for example, the Certificat d'Aptitude Professionnelle), others not. The experiment is thus primarily conceived with individual development in mind; however, owing to the large numbers involved within a single area, it also has an effect on ghe general cultural level of the region, although there is no direct concern with the economic or social problems of the region, as in the case of experiments where collective development predominates. Several points of interest for permanent education were noted. The programmes are not pre-established, but are organised in response to needs expressed. The courses are given near to the places where participants live and work. The educators, who are specially trained, all come from the region and exercise a variety of professions. These teachers and the groups for whom they are responsible define between them the aims

and pace of the courses, which are organised on a unit/credit basis. The programme is state-financed, and includes both vocational and general courses. The Steering Group noted the unusual combination of a non-academic ambiance with traditional teaching methods, (with participation on the part of the students in the goal-setting process more apparent than real). It observed that the experiment seemed to be a rare case of traditional education for adults in a collective context.

The remaining experiments (with one exception) stress collective rather than individual development. An example is the project concerned with Educational Television for rural development in the Rhone-Alpes-Auvergne districts of France. This is a predominantly rural milieu of agricultural workers engaged in the primary activities of crop and stock rearing and forestry. In this type of milieu, the growth of incomes has not kept pace with the growth of productivity. There is difficulty in adapting to the evolution of society and in particular to the mechanisms of a market economy. The problem of the rural exodus (the transfer of manpower to industry) is also acute. All this results in this region in the "malaise paysan", but accompanied by the will to master the consequences of these transformations. The trade union organisations have played an important role in this "prise de conscience". The national federation of agricultural workers (the FNSEA), for instance, had long campaigned for the collective advancement programme that was finally instituted by the French Government in 1959. Co-operation was established on this particular project with the "Institut de Recherches Economiques et de Planification" (IREP) of the University of Grenoble, and various educational programmes were put into practice between 1959 and 1968. From 1968 onwards, educational television became the principal tool used in this large-scale project. The overall programme, however, includes the use of other media such as the press, films, written material and radio. Its principal object is the transformation of an entire milieu, through an unusual collaboration between trade unions, university and mass-media. This long-term programme, the Steering Group felt, represented a genuine potential permanent education structure; a model characterised by an education based on the concrete problems of a whole community, the adult members of which are responsible for defining the aims of the programme, and where the educators are drawn largely from the community itself. The 1973 Consolidated Report concludes that this experiment, in a permanent education context, prefigures "the existence of essentially academic educational projects for which the adult participants are directly responsible, with no intervention on the part of the official education system". The concept of the "learning society" becomes apparent in a wider context envisaging a new scope and role for education: "integrated with daily life, linked to its problems, the concern of all of us, used to bring about direct improvements in our lives".

This experiment extends geographically over a wide region, but concerns essentially one socio-professional category: the agricultural worker. The next experiment we shall consider, in the Italian province of Bari, is concerned with the development of a whole community in a given region. The region in question is an economically backward area of Southern Italy, largely agricultural but with a few new industries. The project was set in motion in 1970 by a team from the University of Bari, with the approval and co-operation of the Italian Ministry of Education, and directly inspired by permanent education principles. "Social Centres for Permanent Education" were gradually established in 26 communes of the province, offering courses in the evenings run by trained animateurs, and using a combination of modern media and traditional teaching methods. The courses cover a very wide range to cater for many different kinds of needs: courses in reading and writing for illiterates, general education to the equivalent of lower secondary level, vocational training, cultural activities with a regional influence, courses of a social and political nature, but related to questions of daily life relevant to the inhabitants of the region. Representatives of the local population have responsibility for the day-to-day management of the programme, which takes its starting point in the economic problems of the community. The 1974 Consolidated Report notes that this experiment represents an impressive illustration of the collective approach to education problems. It remarks that it is "the economic component which justifies such a project and determines its success", and that the experiment merits further study with regard to this aspect and its relation to methodological and administrative components. The Report also drew attention to the attempt to give a legal framework to this programme, and noted as a further point of interest that the overall conduct of the project was the responsibility of a university research team.

The next "collective" project concerns a Swiss experiment relating to cultural development in the Jura. The region comprises the seven districts of the Berne canton, in turn divided into 145 communes. As an area it has little unity, the natural geographical barriers having helped to maintain political, religious and cultural divisions. It is a rural region with some advanced industries but a generally non-expanding economy. The activities that make up the cultural development project are being conducted by three separate bodies: the "Centre Culturel Jurassien" (CCJ), the "Université Populaire Jurassienne" (UP) and the "Ecole Jurassienne de Perfectionnement Professionnel" (EJPP). Close links exist between the CCJ and the UP; the EJPP has a principle of co-operation with the other two organisations, but at the practical level this has not yet been taken very far. The activities are largely cultural in nature, covering principally the cinema, theatre, music and the fine arts, but also more "educational" topics, for instance, aspects of the applied sciences (ecology and demography as related to the region) and vocational training (EJPP). They are characterised by a decentralised organisation. The localities are grouped under regional centres, each of which independently draws up the programme for its area. The central body is chiefly responsible for the work of co-ordination. The Steering Group felt that one of the main points of interest of this experiment lay in the possibility that it foreshadowed of a co-ordination between the often separated domains of education and socio-cultural community development, of an integration of school and community life under one common policy.

A collective experiment of a quite different kind is that concerned with industrial democracy in Norway. Here, the education programme for adults grew directly out of a particular situation, that of workers in Norwegian industry, and is related quite specifically to the attempt to introduce changes in that situation. The industrial democracy project came into being in the 1960s, as a result of co-operation between Norwegian employers' and workers' unions. It should be seen in relation to the 1972 amendment to the Norwegian Companies Act, which gave employees in the country's main industrial firms a seat on the board of directors and representation at shareholders' meetings. The industrial democracy project was set up to promote changes in work organisation, in particular at the shop floor level. In broad terms, its stated aims were "the improvement of the joint employment of human and capital resources, with special reference to creating conditions for an increase of work satisfaction and a decrease of human alienation in the work situation". To achieve these aims, working conditions were reorganised by introducing changes in the workers' roles in terms of tasks carried out. The programme is operated by the Work Research Institute in Oslo, acting in conjunction with management and employees. It represents an application of the systems approach, where the work situation is considered as a socio-technical system in which both the technical requirements of production and the social and individual factors of human organisation play a part. This concept served as a tool for defining and introducing the required changes. Essentially, the aim was to change the organisation of the work done by each individual worker so that his job should correspond more closely to a series of previously defined "psychological requirements", namely: that he should be able to learn while on the job, that his work should be as far as possible demanding and varied, that he should have his own minimal area of decision-making, a minimum degree of social recognition at work, the possibility of relating what he does at work to some kind of "desirable future". To obtain this increased "job satisfaction", it was necessary to enlarge the scope of workers' tasks and give greater autonomy, which called for new training. We see here the relationship between the change in "task-roles" and the learning process, which the Steering Group found to be a point of fundamental interest in this experiment. The Steering Group visited two firms participating in the project, a leading chemical firm, Norsk Hydro, and the Norsk Medicinal Depot, a state owned drug monopoly; for the sake of brevity details are given here only of the Norsk Hydro programme. In this firm, before the experiment began, there was much labour dissatisfaction which led to frequent stoppages in production. Among the causes were narrowly-defined jobs requiring limited skills, and the existence of five different wage-classes. After studying the situation, an action committee of representatives of the Work Research Institute, workers and management decided to introduce the radical change of paying workers "according to the number of work areas they mastered". This attempt to develop job enlargement and flexible work patterns led to a system of job rotation, and the related need for both theoretical and practical training. Study at home was also encouraged, and workers were given financial incentives to participate in the educational programmes. Among the positive results of this "participation experiment" were a higher level of competence and greater job satisfaction on the part of workers, with an associated increase in production. The company has now changed its general training and wage policy

in the light of the experiment. Another possible area of change is the authority structure of the firm. An attempt is being made to introduce a change of this kind in another company within the framework of the experiment. The Steering Group remarked on the interesting parallel between the democratisation of society (the overall stated aim of the Work Research Institute) and the democratisation of education (in the sense of self-management). The Report on the experiment pointed out the potential interest of the systems approach for permanent education, indicating that attention should be paid to its political aspect.

The last of the 16 experiments considered here is that concerned with Folk High Schools in the Netherlands. The 1974 Consolidated Report considers that it represents "an infrastructure for national animation in adult education". There are 13 Folk High Schools in the Netherlands, of which the Steering Group visited 3: at Bergen, Bakkeveen and Baarn. The schools all offer short-term residential education; they have a small full-time teaching staff, assisted by part-time teachers. The courses offered fall broadly into three types: courses on specific themes open to the public for individual enrolment; courses for specific categories of people, eg teachers; and courses requested by a client, such as a business firm for its employees. The staff of the schools are required to devote not more than 80 days a year to internal course work; the remainder of the time they are at work in the community, making contact with potential participants in courses, or planning courses with them where a course has been requested. The work of the schools is financed in the proportion of two-thirds by the state, and one-third by student fees and donations. The schools are autonomous, each choosing its own staff and particular fields of activity, but are co-ordinated through the Folk High School Association, composed of representatives from each school, and reflect a common philosophy, that of the Folk High School Movement. "The aims of this movement are social and, in the wide sense of the term, political, for they explicitly state the need for society to become more compassionate and egalitarian." The schools aim to awaken in people an awareness of their personal, social and economic situation, and of their capacity for individual and social action. Although the Movement was founded in 1932, the methods and approach of the schools have evolved with society. The emphasis today is on "animation sociale", by which is meant "the stimulation, encouragement and facilitation of constructive social criticism and action". In a sense, the schools act as "local and regional consultancy agencies", where the work is geared to the situational problems of the participants. Considerable use is made of group techniques in these courses; the staff claim that they attempt to stimulate participants to formulate their own course content and focus on their own group situation. Community development is an important aspect of the schools' work, aimed at promoting "participation in decision-making and a revivified intensified kind of local democracy". Staff members at the schools thus assume a new kind of role, midway between that of adult educator and community development worker. The 1974 Consolidated Report observes with interest that the Dutch Folk High Schools seem to represent a system of incitement to social change, not through direct political action, but through encouraging participation and a "prise de responsabilité" on the part of the citizens; and it concludes that "educational and social action are here often synonymous".

C. Conclusion

If we try, in conclusion, to present a brief statement of the present position of the Council of Europe's Intensive Project in Permanent Education, we find that certain key problems appear as constantly recurring themes in our analysis. There are three such major problems (which are, in reality, all aspects of the same problem). The first is the problem of integration: how to integrate the mutually influencing but separate "levels" of education into one overall system, and educational activity with other aspects of human life. The second problem is that of the potential conflict between individual development and social constraints: in the words of the 1974 Consolidated Report, "how to reconcile the full development of individual aptitudes with the need to insert individuals into a society whose frames inevitably present constraints and where each must take account of others?" This is of course an ancient educational problem, but one to which permanent education must seek to provide a new solution. "Learning to dominate" is to be superseded gradually by "learning to be", as a condition for survival of the individual in the community and of society as a whole. The third problem is therefore that of the political nature of permanent education. The Consolidated Report points out again and again "that it is not possible radically to alter the education system without modifying socio-political structures". (The reverse argument is also true: the evolution of socio-political structures makes changes in education inevitable.) Thus, "we must envisage permanent education systems in function of the nature of the proposed society to which they are to correspond".

PART III

A NEW APPROACH TO ADULT EDUCATION

A. Introduction: Why the need for a new approach to adult education?

B. Basic options: Meeting needs and developing personal self-reliance

C. Means

D. The education process

E. The question of cost

F. Conclusion

RECURRENT EDUCATION: A NEW APPROACH TO ADULT EDUCATION

A. Introduction

Why the need for a new approach to adult education?

For some years past, a number of countries have been introducing legislation on the education of adults who have started work and are beyond the stage of compulsory schooling. Such legislation varies according to country and cultural tradition. In some countries there has been adult education for over a century, in others it has been introduced far more recently. In some countries the state was the prime mover in the framing of appropriate legislation, in others private bodies such as trade union or employers' organisations drew attention to the need for it.

In spite of these differences, there obviously exists a common concern in face of a development which has similar features in the various countries. It can be assumed that in European countries there is a more or less explicit tendency to consider adult education in a new light.

Two main concepts, devised in the light of adult education experiments carried out in the past few years and of principles established by the Council for Cultural Co-operation (CCC) of the Council of Europe, in the context of its permanent education activities, may provide food for reflection.

The first of these concepts is that the adult student has characteristics of his own which call for a special approach. While in the past child education methods were often applied to adults, it seems more and more necessary to develop a special methodology. The adult learner public is composed of people who work, who have a family and social life, a scholastic past and above all special experience which education cannot ignore.

The conditions under which adults learn should therefore be determined in the light of their circumstances and of the end in view, which may be to make up for an inadequate basic education or to satisfy needs arising from the development of their private, social, economic or political life.

The second concept arises from the difficulties besetting education systems in general. Financial and political difficulties, and difficulties in adjusting education to general social trends call for reflection on the problem taken as a whole. From the standpoint of permanent education, such reflection reveals the need for greater continuity in education throughout a person's life. The question arises therefore of integrating adult education and child education progressively to form a coherent overall system which is not made up simply of the present systems placed end to end.

It would therefore be desirable to consider adjusting education systems gradually on the basis of longer-term options.

In the pages of this chapter which follow, it is sought to define a few trends and, in the light of present knowledge, to formulate the most likely working hypotheses with a view to the progressive reshaping of present situations, to enable adults to educate themselves for their needs in the occupational, political and cultural milieu in which they live. It is also a question of providing the best possible practical and financial facilities for such education.

Naturally, one cannot nor should one propose a model worked out once and for all, but in the light of present experience one can nevertheless form a fairly coherent idea of the lines along which adult education might develop.

This is why the working hypotheses proposed form a whole which could constitute, in the long-term, the broad outlines of a recurrent education system, that is of the evolution of adult education in the context of permanent education.

B. Basic options

Meeting needs and developing personal self-reliance

It is generally agreed that one of the main difficulties besetting education is the disparity which has developed between education systems and the world in which the learners live.

This difficulty has arisen in part from the rapid development of knowledge and of new social and occupational needs.

The individuals' demands have also changed, however. Man no longer agrees readily to being trained for an occupation decided on once and for all. New needs have also arisen which education does not always meet very successfully.

The main reason underlying these needs is generally the wish to adjust to changes and to develop the ability to think and act independently, not only in the occupational field but in all aspects of community, cultural and economic life.

From the standpoint of permanent education, the options chosen here seek to prevent major disparities from appearing between adult education and the new demands of individuals and of society.

a. Structures

It is to be feared that recurrent education will only be able to reduce the present disparities partially unless it is accompanied by an adjustment of school structures and of the content of courses.

The structural changes which recurrent education calls for would probably not suffice to adapt the education system to the characteristics of the adult learning public and to the principles of permanent education. It is certain that although such changes would improve the material conditions of education, they would not lead automatically to a more flexible integration of the school and its environment, with its consequences for educational institutions, methods and techniques.

A more and more flexible structure will be necessary if the aim is to meet needs, foster individual self-reliance and integrate smoothly periods of work and periods of education.

This flexibility is bound to lead sooner or later to changes in the relationships between two worlds: the school and adult life.

The first line of reform would accordingly be to open up education progressively, to make not only its structures, but also the attitudes of the people concerned, highly adaptable. The school would thus gradually become less of a self-sufficient institution than a flexible, permanently accessible educational milieu.

In practice, one can see that flexible structures could mean the removal of the barriers separating places of learning from their environment; education centres and facilities could become more and more an integral part of the community expressly designed to meet its needs.

The dividing lines between the various types of education which are often too sharp might be blurred a little. Adults could, for example, take a technical training course while at the same time developing their knowledge in other fields.

And then surely it would not be impossible to allow each student to advance at his own pace and according to the time he has available for study, abandoning wherever possible the classroom system in favour of study groups which would no longer be formed for a specified period, but for the attainment of a specific goal.

These reforms cannot necessarily be introduced everywhere in the same way, but many experiments have shown that they enable adults to resume their education in the most favourable conditions and to "succeed" in it, with a much lower percentage of students dropping out of courses or failing. Success must be understood not merely as acquiring a diploma, but as achieving an objective, be it concerned with work, culture, the development of the individual's personality or community development.

Although these comments apply primarily to adult education, many of them are also applicable, at least partially, to child education. Here we touch on the delicate question of the junction between child education and adult education within the overall education system. H Janne has said that the development of adult education would engender changes in the education system in general. The question arises as to how far a methodology developed on the basis of adult education experiments or some of their aspects can be applied "downwards", the more so as the distinction between adults and adolescents has become blurred. The philosophy of permanent education assumes, moreover, that this very often arbitrary distinction is replaced by a continuous process adapting itself constantly to each individual. It would seem possible to envisage including at least the 16 to 19 year-olds, a particularly critical category, in the recurrent education system.

b. Course content

To adapt structures to a situation that has become more fluid and to rapid change will not be enough to prevent a wide gulf from developing between recurrent education and the outside world.

The school tradition also rests on a certain idea of what schools should teach. Based in the first place, historically, on a particular philosophy, the school has moved little by little towards a measure of pluralism but it has rarely been realised that this changing idea should have been accompanied by a changing notion of the curriculum.

From this standpoint, it is becoming more and more apparent that the division of the curriculum into more or less separate branches in which the school syllabus remains unchanged is no longer compatible with a situation in which knowledge is increasing while parts of it are becoming obsolete in relation to the aims of education. The knowledge imparted needs to be revised and adapted regularly. Furthermore, the practical problems facing the individual today often call for a multidisciplinary approach. Present curriculum structures make this constant adjustment and the necessary linking together of subjects generally taught separately a difficult matter.

c. Teaching and learning methods

Rather than concentrating on imparting certain items of knowledge laid down in advance, recurrent education directs its efforts towards teaching how to learn; it has opted for placing "learners" in a position to take over their own education gradually according to their needs.

Our idea of educated man is changing more and more. In European tradition, he is a man who, after a period of study that varies in length, embarks on a career.

The philosophy of permanent education is in the process of producing a new model, that of the "self-educating man", for whom studying and working are not incompatible. In this situation, knowledge imparted would lose its hard and fast character and could itself evolve in the wake of everyday life.

The concept of needs does not cover only economic and occupational needs. Although these are too important to be neglected, recurrent education, designed with a view to the development of the individual, must cater for personal and collective needs. In fact it is in all the fields of his occupational and social life in which he is active that a person should be able to determine his educational needs. For example, he might feel the need to acquire knowledge to help him in his work or a capacity in some other field.

In sum, the aim of recurrent education is to enhance the quality of life in all its aspects and not only in some of them.

It is however an unsatisfactory over-simplification to believe that recurrent education can only meet needs arising outside it. The education system could be, more so than in the past, a place for reflection leading to changes in other spheres of social life. For example, one can imagine a dialectical relationship in which the content of education and the characteristics of the occupations available to citizens in society would influence each other mutually.

A method of teaching and learning ought therefore to be devised which would establish a sounder relationship between the education system and the outside world, between learning and the development of the individual.

The nature of the teaching/learning relationship has a decisive effect on what happens at the post-education stage. Education which makes a person more and more self-reliant presupposes a method centred on the process of shaping the adult individual. This process must rest on two main principles: at the outset the motivations of the participants must be taken into account as must the possibilities of applying the fruits of this education in practice. The link between these two principles is forged by active methods based on the solving of problems. The role of the teacher should aim at a new balance in which the functions of animation, facilitation of learning and promotion of group consciousness would progressively take precedence over that of the "ex cathedra" imparting of knowledge. To put it more precisely, the teacher would be called on primarily to encourage self-expression and an awareness of needs, and to keep a watch on students' progress and difficulties in the light of their own objectives and those of the educational institution, resorting to a mode of teaching that might be called "the contract method".

The teaching/learning relationship is not a teacher/pupil relationship only, but also embraces relationships within the student group. These are still too often founded on a spirit of competition; they need to be transformed gradually into relationships of emulation and co-operation and that is possible only in a more open environment less exclusively concerned with short-term results.

C. Means

To put into practice a new way of learning, of educating oneself, of defining courses, calls for the possession of a number of new techniques. Rather than offering adult students courses established once and for all and spread out over a long period, what is needed is a more open system that can be adjusted to serve specific personal ends and in which the pace of learning can depend on the limiting factors with which adult students have to contend.

One of these techniques, which allows for great flexibility with regard both to the way in which a student tackles a subject and to the possibility of adapting content to needs, is the unit/credit system.

A unit is defined in relation to a precise content corresponding to the pupil's ability to act consciously ("being able to ...") in a given field. The units are credited to pupils under a system permitting them to progress in one or more sectors at a pace determined by themselves in accordance with their motivation.

Under such a system, each adult pupil can ideally begin his course, in the light of his objective, at the point he has reached thanks to previous experience or studies, thus avoiding waste of time and energy and a widening gulf between theory and practice. The course can be adjusted constantly without being completely changed, by further work in certain units or the addition of extra ones, which means reviewing the subject, its structure and usefulness constantly, thus avoiding the excessive rigidity which sometimes characterises school syllabuses.

Lastly, this systematic breaking down of a course into content units, each limited in time, lends itself admirably to the use of the new teaching media which can relieve the teacher of at least a part of his work of imparting knowledge. Adult students who have these media at their disposal are able to do more independent work.

But the working out of such multi-media unit/credit systems still raises major methodological and financial problems. That is why the CCC has devoted its "Educational Technology" project to studying, devising and evaluating unit/credit systems.

The project comprises essentially two model courses, one perfecting a system for modern-language learning and the other being a course on environmental and ecological problems.

These two courses, which vary greatly from the standpoint of subject structuration, were selected less for their intrinsic interest than because they would bring out the technical and conceptual difficulties remaining to be overcome in the context of systems development in the sphere of education.

In short, thanks to the unit/credit system and the advantages of educational technology, it ought to be possible for education and the teacher to centre on the pupil and for the pupil to define more accurately his objectives, progress and pace, in other words, to take his education in hand himself. Moreover, if a degree of co-ordination could be achieved at European level, the definition of the objectives of education in terms of "being able to" would make an interesting and effective contribution towards the achievement of equivalence of diplomas.

D. The education process

a. Need for a reference model

The suggestions in the foregoing pages need to be co-ordinated with a view to formulating a progressive reform policy. Together they form a reference model to serve as a basis for further research which - and this is its main raison d'etre - will be adjusted little by little in the light of practical situations and new technical and political factors.

The development of this model for the purpose of devising an education process appropriate to recurrent education is the subject of the CCC project "Organisation, content and methods of adult education".

This project fits into the overall pattern of thinking in the sphere of permanent education. The first condition imposed on it is that it recognises the need to make adult education an integral part of the general education system while at the same time developing its special aspects.

In the context of this project, a detailed study will be made, in the light of the increasingly numerous experiments being carried out, of questions pertaining to the organisation and structuration of adult education, after which it will be sought to formulate, for submission to governments, concrete proposals regarding a strategy for the progressive development of adult education.

b. Prospects

If the methodological proposals put forward in the foregoing pages are implemented progressively, the recurrent education system will assume little by little a coherent shape very different in the long run from that of the education systems we know. Its broad outlines can be defined by an analysis of the consequences of the various options.

The recurrent education system should be able to fulfil four essential functions:

- analyse needs
- develop teaching and learning methods (unit/credit system, multi-media system)
- organise activities and courses
- evaluate and adjust the system in action.

If priority is to be given to meeting personal and social needs, recurrent education ought to have machinery for determining and analysing them.

To analyse needs it is first necessary to gather information by various methods: sociological sample surveys, interviews, community analysis, definition of functions, for example.

The analysis proper would then consist in discovering, on the basis of the information gathered, what many of the occupations and situations studied have in common and what is specific to each. In this way one would be defining a number of general qualifications with which special qualifications would be associated. This work, based on a study of a very large number of individual situations, would lead to the definition of a reasonable number of "occupational profiles".

At a later stage, on the basis of these "occupational profiles", it would be possible for programming and production centres to work out "educational profiles" consisting of a "common core" to which special features would be added.

At a later stage still, these centres would produce progressively multi-media unit/credit systems suitable for use at a third level: that of a highly decentralised network of permanent education institutions with a twofold function. On the one hand, they would provide facilities for adult education on the basis of the educational options defined above, and on the other, they would evaluate available educational facilities and keep a watch on the evolution of needs. The findings would then be fed back to the organisations responsible for analysing needs and producing courses to make sure that a balance is maintained in the system as a whole, thanks to the interaction of the occupational profiles defined within the working environment and the educational profiles devised in the context of the education system, having regard to the needs and motivations of the participants.

The three levels thus defined would remain continuously in contact. Furthermore, thanks to research into needs, practical evaluation of the results of courses followed and the possibilities of active participation offered to adults, the system would be permanently integrated with the world around.

The foregoing description of a potential recurrent education system is naturally only an outline which will need to be given institutional and concrete form according to individual situations and cultural traditions. Some aspects will of course be adjusted as the projects referred to above progress and in the light of partial experiments being carried out in various countries.

In addition, unlike a rigid system, this outline could be defined as a constantly evolving process which will be set in motion at a pace and with special features dictated by specific situations.

E. The question of cost

There are two series of arguments which, pending further research, show that it is impossible to continue developing education systems along present lines and that it is necessary to angle their development towards permanent education.

These arguments are based on the one hand on the fact that if we go on as at present we shall inevitably aggravate our financial problems and on the other hand on the "negative costs" which the perpetuation of the present situation implies.

Studying trends in the number of teachers, B Schwartz shows that for several reasons it is bound to increase. The school population is rising continually, particularly in nursery schools, so that either there must be more pupils to a class (which means worse teaching conditions) or there must be more teachers. But the cost of reducing the number of pupils to a class is very high even for a marginal result. Then again, the school-leaving age has been rising steadily at least until recent years, first for policy reasons but also, and this is more serious, because (in countries where such a system exists) the number of pupils repeating a year has increased considerably.

Lastly, curricula (and hence the cost of teaching staff) have been growing more and more burdensome by the addition of new subjects while only very few have been dropped. At the same time the unions are pressing for teachers to work fewer hours, which would also increase expenditure.

It can thus be seen that from the standpoint of the larger school population alone, the financial outlook is difficult and the same applies in many fields, such as those of school buildings, maintenance of equipment or administrative staff.

Another series of arguments invokes the "negative costs" of the present system. These result essentially from curricula ill-sorted to present needs, from both the socio-cultural and politico-economic points of view. Too often at the end of their schooling pupils are found not to have received the education they were entitled to expect and in addition to have little ability to learn by themselves. It has even been claimed that pupils receive most of their real education outside the school. Here the persistence of a type of education too far removed from its objectives wastes money and causes pupils to lose time which they can never make up.

Apart from waste of money, account must also be taken of human waste, in terms not only of time, but also of inadequately developed potential, discouragement and frustration. These losses are enormous, not only for the pupil but for society as a whole.

The progressive introduction of recurrent education will not be, as has sometimes been claimed, a bottomless pit financially, but will often give better returns in financial and human terms. Lastly, the fact that it will come about gradually should make it possible to check the financial impact at all stages.

F. Conclusion

- Recurrent education will prepare the way for the progressive transformation of the present education system. The changes could take place in accordance with the broad outlines set out in the foregoing pages, in which case, by an analysis of their effects on the system as a whole, they could be co-ordinated with one another.

- The system outlined in this report will need essentially to be flexible with regard to both structure and content. The education process should be able to establish a permanent dialectical relationship between the evaluation of needs and the structuration and organisation of content (implying recourse to multi-media unit/credit systems), the courses themselves in the framework of a decentralised permanent education structure, and lastly, the application of education in all the fields concerned.

- The method evolved is twofold. In the first place it centres on the adult learner, the aim being to develop his power to act independently and consciously and gradually to take over responsibility for his own education. The option of taking needs as the point of departure will lead, on the other hand, to a change in the role of the teacher who, with the support of educational technology, will be able to centre his work more than formerly on the "learner", his objectives and special difficulties. The teacher's main task will thus be to give the lead and to assist the student.

- The development of education would be more effective if the short-term education policy adopted were based on a coherent long-term policy. The utmost should be done to prevent measures from being taken which, decided on in an emergency, are merely designed to resolve momentary difficulties and, being in most cases purely quantitative, lead sooner or later to a new bottleneck.

  The best known example of this kind of action is the changes made in the conditions for university entrance. The university has opened its doors to a wider public under the pressure of the persons and bodies who made it, rightly, an objective of the democratisation of education. Unfortunately, the revision of entrance conditions, structures, courses, of the real meaning of university education and the outlets it affords, was not thoroughly enough thought out and prepared. This gave rise to a structural (and also intellectual) crisis which has led inevitably to the more and more frequent application of the numerous clauses principle. Such a practice only postpones the solution of problems for a few years without resolving them in depth.

- The conditions under which many adults study today explain why so many of them drop their courses or fail. If one day the right to adult education is as universally recognised as the right to holidays or social security, it would be desirable to arrange study conditions as conveniently as possible without requiring from adult students intellectual, physical and nervous efforts which bear no relationship to the purpose of their education. It would be regrettable, similarly, if access to education meant sacrificing family life, sometimes for long periods. Educational leave systems should therefore be introduced progressively having regard to the particular political conditions.

The democratisation of education which the application of the principle of permanent education would bring about could only be real if the material conditions of adult education were improved.

There would not be a one-way relationship between occupational needs and the education system (from occupation to education).

On the basis of the occupational profiles furnished by employers (which would take account of the purely technical aspect of the occupation but also of the more general aspects such as human relations, independence, social communications) educational profiles would be worked out which, when embarked on in practice, would be reviewed and readjusted on the basis of the requirements and motivations of the individuals and groups concerned. The "occupational" aspect would thus merge progressively into the "cultural" aspect and from this two-way movement, the world of education would in turn gain a greater force of impact on society in general.

This new symbiosis of the occupational sector and the cultural sector is a highly important factor in the analysis of the financial implications of the progressive introduction of a recurrent education system. The gaps often serious, in school education have led firms to set up what amounts to parallel education systems, which threaten to make educational investments elsewhere superfluous, at least from the occupational standpoint.

The introduction of a recurrent education system would therefore, while avoiding structural overlapping, liberate funds, particularly in firms, which could then be devoted to a policy of educational leave.

Moreover, the rational use of educational technology would, thanks to the enormous market open to software and the lightening of the burden placed on teachers (making them available to meet the increased demand for education) make it possible to offset the high cost of the hardware and of the production of courses.

Lastly, the cost of recurrent education would be prohibitive if one were simply to add it to the present education system. The trend of the policy outlined in this report is very different: the recurrent education system can be developed by reforming the present system step by step with a view to the attainment of a long-term objective. A major part of the cost could be covered by a concerted redefining of financial priorities in the interests of the development of recurrent education, which could be achieved by better co-ordination of the efforts already being made both by the state and by private bodies.